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A Candid and Impartial Discussion of the False Reasonings, Gross Misrepresentations, and Studied Fallacies of Two Late Pieces...by a Friend of Great Britain.

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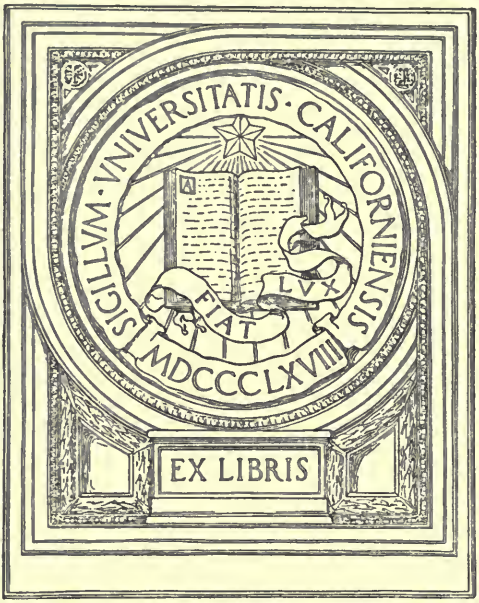

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A CANDID and IMPARTIAL

DISCUSSION

OF THE

False REASONINGS,

Gross MISREPRESENTATIONS,

AND

Studied FALLACIES,

OF

Two late PIECES:

The Former written

To vilify the Inhabitants of One End of THIS ISLAND: And the Latter, of the Other.

TOGETHER WITH

A fair and clear Account of the Advantages derived to Both Parts of the Nation, by the UNION:

AND

The Consequences of raising false Notions of it, Set in their true Light.

By a FRIEND of GREAT BRITAIN.

Do Men gather GRAPES *from* THORNS,
Or FIGS *from* THISTLES?

LONDON:

Printed for M. COOPER, at the *Globe*, in *Pater-noster Row*.

M.DCC.XLVII.

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CANDID and IMPARTIAL

CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

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THERE are few Maxims, with reſpect either to good Senſe or good Manners, more general in their Nature, or leſs to be diſpenſed with in Practice, than thoſe which relate to the avoiding National Reflections. There cannot certainly be any thing more barbarous, than to reproach a Man with what it was not in his Power to avoid; and at the ſame time, ſuch Reflections fall not ſo much upon him, as upon his Maker. Theſe kind of Affronts are generally borne with leſs Patience, becauſe there is no Virtue more clear, or more admired,

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mired, than *the Love of one's Country*; and in proportion as this Virtue prevails, a Man muſt be more apt to take Fire when he hears his Country inſulted. It is therefore no Wonder, that the Paper in *Old England*, of *December* 27th 1646. ſhould be extremely reſented by thoſe who are born beyond the *Tweed*, and conſequently find themſelves injured by it. I think it rather a greater Wonder, that it was not properly reſented, I mean, by a legal Application for Redreſs; for it is, moſt certainly, a violent Attack upon the Conſtitution, and is calculated for ſome of the worſt Purpoſes in the World, at the ſame time that no good Purpoſe can be ſerved by it.

There was an Attempt of the ſame kind made by a very witty Divine, a little after the Union; and upon a

Complaint

Complaint to the Houſe of Peers, a proper Reſentment was ſhewn, tho' from the Partiality of the Tory Miniſtry, the Author was ſcreen'd from any other Puniſhment, than that of being declared a public Incendiary, by the moſt auguſt Aſſembly in the Nation. There is the greater Reaſon, that Performances of this kind ſhould meet with a legal Chaſtiſement, becauſe they are commonly attended with Repriſals; and thus the Peace of the Public is ſacrificed, and a Multitude of dangerous Conſequences follow from the lawleſs Gratification of the implacable Reſentment of a few inconſiderable and inconſiderate Perſons. Beſides all this, one of the greateſt Privileges we have to boaſt, that of the Liberty of the Preſs, comes to be in Danger by ſuch Proceedings; and if ever an artful and deſigning Mi-

niſtry ſhould incline to deprive the People of *Great Britain* of a Privilege which has ſo often ſtood them in the greateſt ſtead, I know no Method ſo practicable, as this, for attaining ſuch a Purpoſe: And therefore, before any more Ink is ſpilt in this Diſpute, I thought it might not be amiſs to give the Writers on both Sides fair Warning of what may follow from their Altercations.

The Author of the Letter ſigned *Aretine*, which has given Occaſion to ſo much Noiſe, does not ſeem to know very well, either what he would be at, or what he is doing. He diſcharges his Anger upon the *Scots*, in the Words of Mr. *John Cleveland*, a Satyriſt of known Rage and Fury; but the Reaſon he is ſo angry with them, is their Attachment to the abdicated Family of *Stuarts*. Now if

he

he had conſider'd, that Mr. *Cleveland* was a very high Royaliſt in the Time of King *Charles* I.; was Judge-Advocate in the Gariſon of *Newark*; and fell a Priſoner into the Hands of the *Scots*, againſt whom his Spleen was levelled, becauſe they were not ſo much attached to their natural Prince, as he; this Writer would have ſeen, that *Cleveland*'s Reproaches are not at all to his Purpoſe; and that he did not offer greater Injury to the Nation he vilifies, than Violence to the Poet whoſe Verſes he employs: Neither is this Obſervation made from a pure Spirit of Criticiſm, but from a juſt Regard to the Subject. For if *Cleveland* was in the right in abuſing the *Scots* then, the *Scots*, in changing their Conduct, can be no longer Objects of his Abuſe; and if, notwithſtanding their Change of Conduct,

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more than you would allow them, before: And to ſay, that after the Union they ought not to enjoy the Privileges ſtipulated by the Union, is treating the People of *North Britain* ill, but the People of *South Britain* worſe; and is ſuch a ſcandalous Reflection upon the Parliament of *Great Britain*, as never appeared in Print, till upon this Occaſion.

The Attack at the End of the Paper, upon a Gentleman much eſteem'd in his Profeſſion, and whoſe Good-breeding is equal to his good Senſe, and other great Qualifications, ſeems to be a Key to the Whole; and ſhews, that tho' the Introduction be general, the Paper was really intended to injure him; and hence it is, that moſt national Reflections ariſe. An angry Man, becauſe he has taken offence at one of another Country, ſhews his

Vengeance

Vengeance to the whole Nation; and in conſequence of his being out of Humour with a ſingle Perſon who came out of *Scotland*, would give up the People of *Scotland* to Deſtruction; and in order thereto, endeavours to ſpread his Spirit of Rancour thro' the Maſs of his Countrymen. Very juſt, very reaſonable, and very worthy of a *Britiſh* Spirit, truly! More eſpecially if it be conſider'd, that this is ſaid at a Time when a Rebellion is but juſt ſuppreſſed in *Scotland*, that was raiſed by a Suggeſtion, that theſe very Principles that this Writer endeavours to propagate, prevailed generally thro' *South Britain*. A Perſon who, from Envy, Malice, or prompted by Intereſt, aſſaſſinates a Man, is allowed to be guilty of one of the fouleſt Crimes poſſible; and yet what is his Crime in Compariſon of that Man's,

who becauſe he diſlikes, with or without Reaſon, a ſingle Perſon of a whole Nation, would ſacrifice that whole Nation and the Peace of his own too, to the Gratification of this ill-timed, and unbounded Reſentment? Such is the Spirit of that Paper to which we owe a Diſpute, from whence the worſt Conſequences are to be apprehended.

From what has been already ſaid, it will ſufficiently appear, that I am very far from countenancing the Sentiments of the Letter-Writer, or from being an Enemy to the People againſt whom his Satire is diſcharged; but for all this I cannot help diſliking in as great a Degree, the Anſwer that has been given to that Letter. The Author of that warm Diſcourſe is very angry with the Coarſeneſs of his Opponent's Writing; and yet his own is to the

full as coarſe. In one reſpect he very much outdoes him; for whereas the Letter-Writer abuſes only one *Scotſman* particularly, and was ſo far in the right, that this was a *Scotſman*, the Anſwerer abuſes three *Engliſhmen*, without giving the leaſt Reaſon why all, or any of them, ſhould incur his Diſpleaſure. As to the Peer, it is moſt certain, that he has ſhewn upon all Occaſions, as great a Regard to the People of *North Britain*, as any Man of his Rank could do; and on a very late, and very particular Occaſion, ſhewed ſuch a Zeal for ſtrict Juſtice, in regard to a *Scot*, and none of the beſt Characters, that ought certainly to be remembred with more Gratitude, and good Manners. The Lawyer is aſperſed with as little Reaſon: For to ſuppoſe him jealous of the Perſon abuſed in the Letter, is to

ſuppoſe him a very ſuſpicious, and a very weak Man; which is what the worſt of his Enemies never durſt repreſent him, for fear of being laughed at; and as for the Office hinted at, I believe his aſpiring to it is as far from the Truth, as it would be to ſay, he is not fit for it. The Prelate is himſelf a Northern Man, and, except his Zeal for the preſent Government, at a Time when the People were in Arms, and *Scotland* againſt it, never gave any Mark of Diſlike to, or Averſion for them, or any other of his Majeſty's Subjects. As for Narrowneſs of Mind, it is a very groundleſs Suggeſtion againſt all Three; and I may venture to ſay, without any Danger either of being ſuſpected of Flattery, or of offending againſt the Truth, that theſe three great Men are envied and hated by none but

narrow

narrow Spirits, who dread their Penetration, and are afraid of their Abilities. After all, I am ſorry their Names have been dragged into this Diſpute; and I heartily beg their Pardons, for having attempted an Apology for them.

The next thing that falls in this Writer's Way, is a very auguſt Aſſembly, whom he treats with extraordinary Freedom, and this purely on the Credit of a Story told after common Fame, by his Antagoniſt, of ſome new Judges that are to be made for *Scotland*, and are likewiſe to ſit in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; which, for my Part, when I ſee, I ſhall believe; and till then, I ſee no Reaſon to attempt the refuting what at preſent ſeems to be a groundleſs Rumour; and I believe will never be found otherwiſe.

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The Venality of *North* and *South Britons* are next compared, and all the old Reflections about obtaining the Union by Bribery are owned in reſpect to the former, in order to throw them in the Teeth of the latter. Here I think his Paſſion has hurried him out of the Path of Reaſon: For ſuppoſing the Fact to be true, that there was ſome pecuniary Influence made uſe of to bring about the Union, it proves nothing to the Prejudice of the *South Britons*, tho' it plainly fixes upon the North *Britons* Charges of Corruption. If, as this Writer all along ſuppoſes, the Union was beneficial to *South Britain*, they were very wiſe to purchaſe it; and if in *North Britain* there were Men who could be brought into it no other Way than that which this Writer mentions, it was certainly

right

right to take that Way; for if they had this Spirit of *touching*, they would have *touched French* Money, if they had not touched ours; and by that means, have given their Neighbours in *South Britain* a great deal of Trouble; which if they avoided by an inconſiderable Expence, they certainly acted like prudent Men, and able Politicians; that is, they acted like what they were, and did the Nation's Buſineſs as well, and as cheap as they could.

But I have heard another Turn given to this Affair, and that ſome of the *Scots* Peers, who accepted of particular Favours upon that Occaſion, did not look upon them as Bribes, but as Equivalents for what they were parting with for themſelves and their Families. While *Scotland* remained a ſeparate Kingdom, they had great Privi-

Privileges and Power, as Peers; and when they were to part with theſe, which they conſidered as Things annexed to their Dignities, they thought themſelves not in the wrong to make uſe of that Vice in Nature, to get ſomething for them: I do not pretend to ſay, whether this was wrong or right; I only ſay, that if it was wrong, it reflects upon none but them; and if it was right, it reflects upon nobody. When the Crowns were united, every body knows a cloſe Union was propoſed, of which the *Engliſh* were not very fond, becauſe they did not foreſee the Advantages they ſhould reap from it, or the Inconveniences they ſhould avoid by it. But after the Revolution, both theſe became more apparent; and therefore it is no Wonder, that the *Engliſh* Miniſters changed their Minds.

I know very well, that the Miniſters in *Scotland* found Ways and Means to procure the Royal Aſſent to Acts of Parliament, that made the Union neceſſary and unavoidable; and I know, that in conſequence of theſe Acts, they ſet a higher Price upon it, and had it; for which I am ſo far from thinking they were to be blamed, that I think they were to be highly commended for it. They ſaw and knew, that an Union muſt ſome time or other be brought about; and in contriving to get the beſt Terms poſſible for their Country, when it was brought about, they did what became them: So that, conſidering the Whole of this Tranſaction, in a rational and political Light, neither Side was to blame: If the *Engliſh* loſt one Opportunity, they were in the right to embrace another; and

as the Conſent of the People of *Scotland* was neceſſary to an Union, they judged very wiſely in giving their Conſent, when ſuch an Opportunity offered, as put it in their Power to obtain the beſt Terms that could poſſibly be had for conſenting to it.

It was a Bargain of great Conſequence to both Nations; it was a Bargain by which both Nations were to be Gainers; and in this Light it was the very laſt Bargain that was to be driven between them; becauſe they were for the future to become but One Nation. The great Point to be purſued afterwards, was to render that Bargain beneficial to this new and united Nation, by blotting out all former Reſentments, and by becoming on both Sides what they undertook to become, One People. But it has unfortunately happened, that

ſome,

ſome, both in *South* and in *North Britain*, have forgot their Obligations in this reſpect, and upon the Face of the Thing, both deſerve equal Blame; for at the bottom, both are Enemies to the United Nation; and which is the ſame thing, in other Words, both are Enemies to themſelves, and falſe to their own Intereſt. The Union, whatever artful and deſigning Men may pretend, is equally neceſſary to one Part of the Iſland, and beneficial to the other. *Great Britain* is a far more formidable Power than the Crown of *England* was, and the Inhabitants of *North Britain* are in a Capacity of being much richer and happier than the People of *Scotland* ever were. If on both Sides this is not ſeen, it does not deſtroy the Truth of the Thing; and if any particular

Perſons, to ſerve their private Purpoſes, endeavour to ſet this Matter in a falſe Light, to the Inhabitants of either Part of the Iſland, it is acting a very bad Part, and deſerves a harſher Name than I incline to give it.

But before I quit this Part of the Subject, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that thoſe to whom both Parties give the worſt Character, agree in deſiring to ſee the Union diſſolved; thoſe among the *Engliſh* who wiſh to ſee the *Scots* treated as a vanquiſh'd People, and thoſe amongſt the *Scots* who have been lately in Arms againſt the Conſtitution. But the wiſer and better Part of the Inhabitants of both Ends of the Iſland know their Happineſs, and are content with their Condition.

As

As to what has happened ſince the Union, I am very much at a Loſs to ſee what Ground there is for charging the *Engliſh* with want of Gratitude, Amity, Generoſity, and friendly Dealing. There was a Suſpicion, that ſome of the Nobility in *North Britain* were engaged in a Deſign to favour the *French* in the Invaſion in 1708, and upon this Suſpicion they were taken into Cuſtody; but when no Riſing happened in *Scotland*, in conſequence of that Attempt, they were diſcharged. This I think was very fair and equal on both Sides; for on the one hand it ſhewed, that the People of *Scotland* were not ſo angry with the Union as they were repreſented to be; and when this was ſeen, they had all imaginable Juſtice done them. After the Change of the Miniſtry in the Queen's Time, there

there was a great Spirit raiſed againſt the *Scots*, upon the Suppoſition that they were generally Whigs; and thoſe who lived at that Time cannot but remember, that there was then a great Talk of diſſolving the Union. After the Acceſſion of the late King, and before the People of *North Britain* had any Opportunity of being acquainted with this Government, a Rebellion was raiſed, and that Rebellion extended likewiſe into *England*. But that Part of the Nobility of *North Britain* that were look'd upon as Whigs in the Queen's Time, ſhewed themſelves truly ſuch upon that Occaſion, and were very inſtrumental in quaſhing that Rebellion. What followed upon it was very equal, both with reſpect to the People of *South Britain* and of *North Britain*, that fell by the Hand of Juſtice; and

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as far as we can decide by Events, it had a proper Effect in both Countries, and People became quickly ſatisfied with the new Government, much better ſatisfied than they would have been, if more rigorous Meaſures had been purſued, becauſe they were convinced thereby, that the Monarch whom Providence ſet over them, was a Prince of great Lenity and Mercy.

I cannot imagine, why after going down as low as theſe Times, the Author of the Anſwer to the Letter in *Old England* carries us up again as high as the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt, and even higher: But let him carry us where he will, it will not make much for his Purpoſe. The Caſe of *Charles* the Firſt does no great Honour to either Nation, but ſurely leaſt to the People of *Scotland*: He was, as the Writer truly ſays, their

natural

natural Prince, and they had great Obligations to him as ſuch; and yet they were the Authors of his Misfortunes, and thoſe of his Family. It was the Nobility and Perſons of Diſtinction that rebelled againſt him there, which, if they had not done, no Rebellion could have happened here. It was an Army commanded by ſome of the greateſt Men in *Scotland*, that gave up that Prince to his *Engliſh* Enemies: The ſame thing cannot be ſaid of thoſe that put him to death here. The Behaviour of the *Scots* to *Charles* the Second was very ſtrange: They executed the Marquis of *Montroſe* in an ignominious manner, for fighting under his Commiſſion, at the very time that they invited him thither, and offered to fight for him as their King, againſt the *Engliſh*. Better, moſt ceratinly,

it would be, if theſe Things were never remembred; but if they muſt be remembred, let us do Juſtice to both Sides. The *Engliſh* never acted ſo inconſiſtently; when they ſhed the Blood of their Nobility, they called themſelves a Commonwealth; but when the *Scots* cut off *Montroſe*, who was an Honour to their Country, they own'd the very Principle for which he fought; juſt as Duke *Hamilton* managed that Party that brought both Nations into Confuſion, and the King to loſe his Head: Yet when he ſaw that Event ſtare him in the Face, he took Arms to prevent it, to no Purpoſe, however, but the loſing his own. If any Man can reconcile this to any Sort of Principles, or even to common Senſe, *Erit mihi magnus* APOLLO.

As to the Fair-dealing and Generosity of Nations, I cannot well tell what is meant by these Expressions. Fair-dealing is the Interest of every Nation; and I have never heard, that the People of *South Britain* were at all remarkable for playing fast and loose with their Contracts: But if they were so dispos'd, they have no Opportunity, with regard to the People of *North Britain*, since the Union settles their Pretentions, and while they have these, there can be no Pretence, or at least no just Pretence, that they are not fairly dealt with. Generosity, if I understand the Word right, implies something of Inferiority in the Party obliged, and unless I am much mistaken in my Notions of the People of *North Britain*, they would be very unwilling to confess such an Inferiority, in order to become the

Objects of the Generosity of their Neighbour. That, in point of Taxes, they have all the Favour shewn them that their Condition requires, or themselves can reasonably expect, is most certain. That upon Application to the Legislature, they have had great Indulgences given them with respect to their Trade and Manufacture, is also certain; and that they are at Liberty to extend their Commerce, and to employ their Fortunes, when acquired, where and in what manner they think fit, cannot be denied. As to Lenity, the Insurrection at *Glasgow*, in relation to the Malt Tax, and the Affair of Captain *Porteous* at *Edinburgh*, are pretty strong Proofs, that no Handle is made even of their own Indiscretion, to their Prejudice; for I believe there is nobody of Opinion, that if either of those Acts had been

committed in *England*, they would have been paſſed over more lightly, or the Perſons concerned in them puniſh'd with leſs Severity. It is true, that we have long lived under a very mild and gentle Government, which has contributed to give us new Ideas of Things, and to induce us to look upon every thing as harſh and cruel, that has the leaſt Appearance of an extraordinary Puniſhment: Yet if on the one hand we conſider, that extraordinary Outrages upon the Laws muſt be repreſſed, in order to preſerve to us the Benefits of thoſe Laws, upon which the Security of this mild and gentle Government depends: And if on the other hand we look to what upon like Occaſions has been done in paſt Times, we ſhall ſee abundant Reaſon to be ſatisfied with the Manner in which Things have been conducted,

ducted, and find that it is a great deal easier to throw out loose and general Complaints, than to support them by any Shadow of Proof, or Colour of Argument.

As to the Business of Religion, I am at a loss to find the least Ground for Expostulation on that Head: The Union left the Church of *Scotland* as it found it, only it added a farther Security, which has been inviolably adhered to; and as no Cause has been given to make any Alterations or Innovations, so none have been made; and of this the Church there have from time to time expressed the strongest Sense imaginable. That they have differ'd and divided among themselves, is their own Fault; and that those of the Episcopal Persuasion have drawn down the Hand of the Law, by an Abuse of the Tenderness

long

long ſhewn them, is what themſelves cannot deny; nor can thoſe of that Perſuaſion, who conſider that every Government, as a Government, has a Right to defend itſelf, juſtly complain of any Steps that have been taken in regard to them. It is the Political Part of their Religion, not the Doctrinal, that has expoſed them to the Weight of theſe new Laws, which, how burdenſome ſoever they may ſeem, would ſcarce have been ſo light under any other Government than the preſent. Let them conſider the Condition of the Proteſtants in *France*, who in their Political Creed differ nothing from the reſt of their Countrymen, unleſs it may be in having firmer Principles of Obedience; and then let them conſider their own, and the Provocations given for thoſe Laws which they may think hard.

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In ſaying all this, I make Allowance for their Principles, which I ſuppoſe them to retain; and I conceive, that even upon thoſe Principles, if they examine Things calmly and coolly, they will not ſee any great Cauſes for Diſcontent, or be able to furniſh any tolerable Reaſons to ſupport a Charge of Perſecution and unchriſtian Severity, unleſs they take it for granted, that thoſe who made theſe Laws were Hypocrites, and acted againſt their own Principles.

The Antiquity of the *Scots* Nobility is brought in by Head and Shoulders: I know nobody that conteſted it; nor any Uſe that can be made of it, when allowed: But I am amaz'd to find it ſo unjuſtly preferred to the *Engliſh*, becauſe it may be very eaſily proved, from the *Scots* Writers themſelves, that many of their beſt Families

lies came out of *England*. As for Inſtance, the Earl of *Crawford* and *Lindſay* deſcended from a Lord *Lindſay*, who retired into *Scotland* in the Reign of *Malcolm Conmore*, beyond whoſe Reign few *Scots* Titles can be traced with any Certainty; and he was contemporary with *William* the Conqueror. The Royal Family of *Bruce*, was originally *Norman*, then *Engliſh*, then *Scots*: So was *Baliol*, and ſo was *Hamilton*, and of a much more modern Date, than Numbers of the *Engliſh* Nobility. We might ſay the ſame of Multitudes of other Families, if it was to any Purpoſe. But the Antiquity of the *Scots* Nobility has been always allowed, and all Reſpect imaginable has been paid to it by the Union. It would be very happy for *North Britain*, if their Nobility would conſider this, I mean in general,

general, and form juſt Notions of the Dignity and Privileges communicated to them, in Conſideration of their Quality, and make uſe of the Means that are in their own Power, to maintain and ſupport theſe with Luſtre. It is certain that ſome of them, merely by living at home, and minding their Affairs, have been able in a great meaſure to reſtore Eſtates that were very much ſhattered by a different Conduct in their Affairs: And as a reaſonable Degree of Property is a great Addition to Quality; ſo where this is once obtained, Men of Titles and Families find it very eaſy to extend and improve it. Neither is there any Cauſe to complain of general Diſreſpect in the People of *South Britain*, to Perſons of great Quality coming out of the *North*, if we conſider the Alliances they have made,

the Advantages derived to them by thoſe Alliances, and the Conſideration that is had for them in Sollicitations for Preferment. I do not ſay that there has been too much of this, or that they have been reſpected beyond their Deſerts; but this I ſay, that, conſidering their preſent Situation, there is not the leaſt Ground for throwing any Reproach upon the Inhabitants of *South Britain*, on the ſcore of wanting Deference for *Scots* Quality.

The Compliments paid to the *North-Britiſh* Orators in our Courts of Juſtice, are certainly very much ſtrained, and indeed are againſt all the Rules of Juſtice and right Reaſon. What room is there to imagine, that Men who come to a Study under greater Difficulties than any of their Fellow Students, ſhould infallibly

libly get the better of them, and reach the Poſt of Merit before them? Yet this is really the Caſe, in reſpect of ſuch of that Nation, as addict themſelves to the Study of the *Engliſh* Law. They have firſt the great Difficulty to ſtruggle with acquiring the Language, which is very neceſſary to a Pleader, whoſe Diſcourſes loſe much of their Force, if they are not pronounced diſtinctly, with a proper Modulation of the Voice, and in a Tone pleaſing to every Ear. This Difficulty of overcoming a bad Pronunciation, is greater than moſt People imagine; and yet it is not the greateſt in point of Elocution; for a Man may much eaſier rid himſelf of the *Scottiſh* Accent, than of the *Scottiſh* Phraſes; and thoſe *Scotticiſms* may be no great Blemiſhes, nay, in ſome Caſes perhaps, Beauties, in pri-

vate and free Converſation: yet they are nevertheleſs barbarous in Harangues, in which it is impoſſible to make any Abatement with regard to Purity of Language. But ſtill this is not all; a Man may ſpeak *Engliſh*, and uſe *Engliſh* Phraſes, without being an *Engliſh* Orator. There go to that, in point of Language only, many other neceſſary Qualifications: In the firſt place, a great Readineſs in ſpeaking; in the next, a happy Choice of Words; and, laſtly, a Correctneſs in Diction; the Charms of which are felt by all, tho' very few can tell exactly whence they ariſe. But, ſuppoſe a Native of *North Britain*, able by dint of Study and Practice (and yet I very much doubt, whether the Qualifications before-mentioned can be acquired by both); but ſuppoſe, I ſay, a Native of *North Britain* ſhould

be

be able to reach them, he will ſtill find great Difficulties in the very Road of the Science, to which a Native of *South Britain* is entirely a Stranger; and the better his Education has been, the greater thoſe Difficulties will be: For ſuppoſe he has a Tincture of the Civil Law, inſtead of helping, this will hinder his conceiving the Principles of the *Engliſh* Juriſprudence. I do not ſay, that the Civil and Common Law are incompatible, or that it is impoſſible for a Man to be perfect Maſter of both; for we have many Inſtances to the contrary; and to name but two, *Spelman* and *Selden*: But in this Caſe the Common Law muſt be firſt acquired, and the Knowledge of the *Roman* Inſtitutions added in a maturer State of Life, when a Man is more in a Condition to compare and judge of Things,

307107

Things, than when he is forming his Mind, and laying in his firſt Stock of Knowledge. I might add to theſe, ſeveral other Conſiderations; but from what has been already ſaid, every proper Judge of the Subject will plainly ſee, that ſuppoſing equal Parts and Capacity) and more than equal, I ſuppoſe will not be contended for); a *North Britiſh* Orator will have a very hard Taſk to ſet himſelf in the earlier Part of Life upon a Level with his *Engliſh* Contemporaries, and a very indifferent Chance for ſurpaſſing them: So that all Apprenheſions of ſeeing the Bar over-run by *Scotſmen*, are very chimerical; and the Dread of ſeeing them advanced to the higheſt Poſts in the Profeſſion, much more ſo.

Envy is a mean and baſe Vice, and ſo is Flattery; I cannot there-

fore believe, that there are many *South Britons* tainted with the former; and I can ſuſpect fewer of them inclined to the latter, in favour of thoſe that come from the oppoſite End of the Iſland. For theſe Reaſons, my firm Opinion is, that but a very few of the Profeſſion are really jealous even of that Gentleman's Abilities, which ſeem to have given Birth to this Diſpute, and which, in that Light, do him great Honour; though even this is a painful Pre-eminence, and muſt probably give him Senſations of Grief, mix'd with Pleaſure. Thoſe who pretend to think in Earneſt, that the few *Scots* Pleaders we have, ſtand poſſeſſed of ſuperior Advantages, will have much to do to perſuade other Folks, that they are in Earneſt, and that they really mean as they ſpeak. But ſuppoſing this

this to be a Fact, the Prejudices or Prepoſſeſſions of a handful of fanciful People, will go but a very little way in altering the Sentiments of a whole Nation, or in eſtabliſhing an Opinion, as contrary to the general Bent of Mankind, as perhaps it is to Truth. For my own Part, I muſt confeſs, that if I did not very well know Diſſimulation is very ſeldom to be numbred amongſt the Vices of *South Britain*, I ſhould be inclined to ſuſpect, that ſuch as are fond of profeſſing a real Belief of this Superiority, intend more Harm than Good to thoſe they commend; and are their moſt dangerous, by being their moſt diſguiſed, *Enemies*: For it was very finely ſaid, by a Poet who is believed never to have written another good Line, that,

Praiſe undeſerv'd, is Satire in Diſguiſe.

But

But there has been enough ſaid to free the impartial and judicious Reader from any ſort of Doubts, as to ſeveral Points advanced in theſe Pamphlets, to ſerve different Purpoſes; and it has been ſufficiently ſhewn, that tho' oppoſite Writers cannot be both in the right, yet it is not impoſſible that both may be in the wrong. We will come now to Things of greater Moment, and endeavour, with Truth and Impartiality, to ſtate the relative Duties of both Countries, in order to ſhew, that the Union is an equal Bleſſing to both, and that the diſſolving it would be attended with great Miſchief, and not ſo much as a ſingle good Conſequence to either. By this means it is not impoſſible, that we may bring Good out of Evil, and ſuggeſt ſuch Hints to the well diſpoſed in *South* and *North Britain*, as may

operate towards the re-eſtabliſhing that Kindneſs and Friendſhip which ſo happily ſubſiſted before the late Rebellion. The common Opinion is, that Intereſt goes farther with the preſent Age than any other Motive; and in regard to political Conſiderations, it is reaſonable it ſhould do ſo; and therefore I lay it down plainly and avowedly, as the Principle upon which I proceed, that it is the Intereſt of the Inhabitants of *South* and *North Britain*, to baniſh all Feuds, Jealouſies, Heartburnings, and Prejudice, in order to adopt a true national Spirit, without any Diſtinction (beyond what is requiſite from the Nature of Things) as to which End of the Iſland they inhabit; becauſe ſuch a Spirit is abſolutely neceſſary, to promote the Welfare of the Whole, and thereby ſecure all poſſible Advantages,

vantages, with reſpect to every Part of our Country; and will infallibly render the Inhabitants of *Great Britain* powerful, and reſpected abroad, as well as free, opulent, and content, at home; which is what would give our faithful Allies the higheſt Satisfaction, and take from our antient, hereditary, and inveterate Enemies, all Hopes of ſucceeding in their Deſigns.

To begin, then, with the Inhabitants of *North Britain*, If there are any amongſt them who are really angry with the Union, it muſt proceed either from a Notion that the diſſolving it would contribute to the Change of Government they wiſh for; which proves it to be a good thing; or from their not underſtanding it perfectly; or laſtly, from their preferring their private or particular In-

tereſts to the common Safety, and publick Good. In regard to Government, the People of that Country are much eaſier, much ſafer, and much happier than they ever were before or after the Acceſſion of their Kings to the Crown of *England:* For look into their antient Hiſtorians, ſuch as *Fordun*, *Major*, *Boetius*, *Leſly*, or *Buchanan*, and you will find them in perpetual Tumults, Inſurrections, Plots or Conſpiracies; and this in all Reigns indifferently, from the Power of their Grandees and their Credit with, or Influence over the People. As for what has paſſed in later Times, examine *Spotſwood*, *Melvin*, *Drummond*, *Burnet*, and *Welwood*, you will ſee in them, that every new Seſſions of Parliament was attended with a Charge of Miniſtry and Syſtem; ſo that the Kingdom was kept in a continual

Hurry

Hurry, and the People were more concerned who governed them, than how they were governed. But ſince the Union, Things have taken another Turn, and the Inhabitants of *Scotland* have enjoyed Peace and Protection, which are the great Ends of Government, for many Years together; the Laws have been ſupported, the Acceſs to the Throne and to the Legiſlature has been always open; there has never appeared any Inclination to encroach upon their Liberties, or to diſtreſs them in any manner whatever. If in ſome particular Points, and thoſe too of no great Importance, the Caſe has varied, it was amongſt themſelves; their Oppreſſors did it by a Power not derived from the Law; and they might at any time have been relieved, if from their ſuperſtitious Regard to old Cuſtoms

they

they had not been reſtrained from complaining. But however, ſince the Union Feuds have been in a great meaſure dropt, the Tyranny of their great Men has been circumſcribed within very narrow Bounds: And tho' from the natural Spirit of the People, Factions have not been wanting; yet theſe Factions wanted a Power of doing Miſchief, which they had, and exerted with a Vengeance, in former times; ſo that if the living under a ſettled, mild, and benificent Government, be a Bleſſing, it is a Bleſſing thoſe People have enjoyed, or might have enjoyed; a Bleſſing derived to them by the Union: For as their own general Hiſtories and private Memoirs plainly ſhew, it was what they never enjoyed, nor of which indeed they had ſcarce a Notion till that took Place. I do not ſay this

from a Spirit of Rancour, but merely out of a Regard to Truth; and I am fully perſuaded, that the wiſeſt and moſt knowing Men of that Country, after calmly conſidering what I have advanced, will readily admit that the Thing is ſo, and that in this reſpect they never had any juſt Reaſon to wiſh the Union diſſolved.

If from the Adminiſtration of Civil Affairs we turn to thoſe of the Church, we ſhall find, that the Union has been no leſs beneficial to them in that Reſpect; for their Religion has remained in a ſettled Condition, and has always received ſuch Aſſiſtance from the Government, as was neceſſary to ſupport and defend it; and yet no Countenance was ever given to a Spirit of Perſecution; but the Way of Moderation was that which recommended the Clergy to

the Crown, whereby the Peace of the Country has been maintained, and the Credit of the Church of *Scotland* carried higher than it ever was. To be convinced of this, we need only look into their eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, ſuch as *Knox*, *Calderwood*, *Petrie*, *Woodrow*, and *Keith*. Whoever conſults theſe Volumes, will ſee, that never any Nation in the World ſuffered more than this has done by religious Diſſentions in former Times, when the Worſhip of God was almoſt continually made a Pretence, for the Diſturbance and Deſtruction of Men; and the Government had more to do to regulate the Conduct of the Clergy, and to keep the different Sects in ſome Degree of Order, than with all other Affairs put together; whereas ſince the Union, there has ſcarce been any Trouble upon this Acconnt;

count; and what religious Differences have ariſen, either from Pride, Peaviſhneſs, or Enthuſiaſm, after ſpending themſelves in Field-preaching and Writing, have ſunk by degrees, without producing any Noiſe or Confuſion worth ſpeaking of, or at leaſt nothing in Compariſon of what they did heretofore, even under the beſt Reigns and gentleſt Adminiſtrations. How great an Advantage this has been to the Inhabitants of that Country; how far it has conduced to extinguiſh thoſe Heartburnings and Animoſities which kept one Part of the People in a continual State of Oppoſition and Hatred to the other, is what may be more eaſily conceived, than explained. How far it has contributed to the promoting the Proteſtant Religion, and ſpreading a ſociable, charitable Diſpoſition thro' all

Ranks and Degrees of People, I leave any reaſonable Man to judge, after making the neceſſary Inquiries among thoſe who are beſt acquainted with the general State of the Country, and the great Effects which have been produced by the Schools that have been erected, even in the moſt diſtant Parts, and for the Support of which, great Collections have been made in *South Britain.*

In reſpect to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, the greateſt Care was taken to make the Inhabitants of *North Britain* perfectly eaſy, by the Proviſion made for it by the Union, which ſecured to them the Poſſeſſion of their old Laws, to be adminiſtred by their own Judges, in the ſame Manner as before, and under ſuch Reſtrictions as left it not in the Power either of the Crown or its Miniſters, to give them

them the leaſt Trouble or Diſturbance; neither have they ever had any Occaſion to complain on this head, their Benches having been filled with the moſt eminent Advocates at their Bar, who whenever they have had occaſion to come into *England*, on the ſcore of the laſt Reſort of Juſtice in Parliament, have been treated here not only with the greateſt Candour and Civility, but with all the Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem poſſible. It is true, that ſince the Union, Appeals have been frequent; but this has been ſo far from tending to the Prejudice of the Inhabitants of *North Britain*, that it has been, as indeed from its Nature it muſt be, of the higheſt Benefit: For in the firſt place, it ſerves as a Check upon the Courts Below, and obliges them not only to act with Juſtice and Impartiality,

but with the utmoſt Care and Circumſpection. In the ſecond place, it is a voluntary Act of the Parties, who if they deſire to be bound by the Deciſions of their own Judges at home, are not at all compelled to reſort hither for the Reviſion of their Sentences, in any Caſe whatever: And laſtly, it appears plainly by the Frequency and Increaſe of Appeals, that the People of *North Britain* really conſider it in the ſame Light that I do, and are fully ſatisfied, that this Method is no Grievance, nor even a nominal, but a ſolid and real Advantage. By the way I cannot help obſerving, that hitherto the learned Lawyers of *North Britain* have had no Opportunity of returning the Compliments that have been paid to their Countrymen, who have applied themſelves to this Profeſſion here, ſince as

far

far as I have been informed, there has been no Inſtance of any *Engliſhman*'s entering on the Study of the Law, and making a Figure as a Pleader, before the Court of Seſſion; and yet I am perſuaded, that ſuch a Perſon would find fewer Difficulties in his way, and conſequently would be ſooner able to diſtinguiſh himſelf at their Bar, than any *Scotſman* can do here; and I do not doubt, whenever the Caſe ſhall happen, that the utmoſt Regard will be ſhewn, and the greateſt Deference paid to the Merit of ſuch a Pleader: For notwithſtanding what has been ſaid of the narrow, national Temper of the *Scots*, I never heard they were ſlow in doing Juſtice to the Worth of a Stranger of any learned Profeſſion that came among them.

The free Intercourſe with *South Britain* is another happy Conſequence of the Union, or rather is a Conſequence big with many happy Circumſtances to the Advantage of the People of *North Britain*. It is very true, that from the Junction of the two Crowns ſuch an Intercourſe generally ſubſiſted, but was not however ſo eſtabliſhed as to give either Nation any Aſſurance it ſhould always laſt. On the contrary, whenever Schemes of the reſpective Miniſtries claſhed, and Projects of overturning Government upon Principles of Civil or Religious Patriotiſm prevailed in either Kingdom, this Intercourſe was interrupted, and the two Nations alarmed and heated to a Degree of Madneſs, though at the ſame time the People had no real or juſt Cauſe of Complaint againſt each

other, but were merely Tools in the Hands of their diſcontented Leaders, appearing now in one Form, then in another, hardly ever in their own. Thus in the Reign of *Charles* I. the *Scots* Four times entered *England*, in the Cauſe of Presbytery, and of thoſe who oppoſed the Prerogative; and yet, in *Charles* II. Time, a ſtanding Army was kept up in *Scotland*, in ſupport of the Prerogative: And it clearly appears, from the Earl of *Shaftſbury*'s famous Speech, *Of our little Siſter who had no Breaſts*, that this Situation of Things in *Scotland* had a great Effect upon the *Engliſh*. So lately almoſt as the Union itſelf, the two Kingdoms were plunged in the ſame Difficulties: Prohibitions, and other Acts of Rancour and Violence, were talk'd of, and ſome practiſed on both Sides; and, when

we

we were involved in a tedious and expenſive War on the Continent, in Compliance with the Schemes of one Set of Miniſters, we were very near engaging in a Civil War at Home, in conſequence of the dark Deſigns of another. But, by the Union, all Dangers, and all Difficulties, of this Sort, are taken away, and taken away for ever. The People of *North-Britain* are, at all times, at Liberty to bring in their Cattle, and what other Commodities they have of their own, without Trouble, and without Burden; which alone has changed the Face of the Frontiers, and made thoſe Lands, which heretofore were ſcarce ſalable at all, the moſt valuable in that Country. By the Benefits derived from this ſtable Intercourſe, the People of *Scotland* have been enabled to ſucceed in many Manufactures, which

which they had, formerly, in vain attempted, and ſome they have ſince learned, and practiſed; that, before this Intercourſe, they never thought of; which, from their Vicinity to *England*, they are capable of carrying on with Profit; and which, if this Intercourſe were interrupted, they muſt be immediately forced to lay aſide.

By the Intercourſe mentioned in the laſt Paragraph, I would be underſtood, of the Communication, by Land, between the two Nations: But tho' the Benefits reſulting from this, to the People of *North Britain*, are incomparably greater than can be conceived by any who are not perfectly acquainted with the Nature of the Thing, and with the Number of Perſons it employs; yet it is, in a manner, nothing, when compared to

the general Commerce of the *North* Part of *Britain* with the *South*, which, before the Union, was a very inconſiderable Thing: But we have not only many Veſſels in a Year from *Leith* and *Glaſcow*, but from almoſt every Port, even thoſe ſituated in the moſt *Northern* Parts of that Country. It is very true, that the *Scots*, ſometimes, pretend to doubt whether they are Gainers, by that Commerce, or not; ſince what they derive from *England*, conſiſts chiefly in Articles of Luxury; which, however, is a weak and fooliſh Notion, both there, and every-where elſe; for Luxury is an indeterminate Expreſſion, and implies a different Thing, in the Mouth of every Man that uſes it. But if the *Scots*, which is the fair Way of ſtating it, have increaſed the Number of Articles, which

which they conceive to be the Conveniencies of Life, and are furniſhed with many of theſe from *England*, they muſt then purchaſe them ſomeway or other; they muſt increaſe their Manufactures, ſend out more of their Commodities, find ſome Way of remitting hither the Balance of their foreign Trade; or, in ſome manner or other, give us Satisfaction; and, if they do this, it is moſt certain both they as well as we are Gainers. But it is very evident, that a great Part of this Commerce is owing to their being at Liberty to ſhare in the *Engliſh* Trade by virtue of the Union; and therefore, if they annually take off four or five times the Quantity of *Engliſh* Goods which they did formerly, they are enabled ſo to do by the Advantages they have gained in Trade; and conſequently are, in

every reſpect, the better for it; which is likewiſe diſcernible by many, and thoſe infallible Marks; ſuch as the flouriſhing of their Sea-port Towns, the augmenting the Number of their Traders, and the Increaſe of their Shipping: And as all theſe Advantages increaſe in Time, we have ſome Reaſon to believe, by the Cloſe of the preſent Century, the trading Inhabitants of *Scotland* will make quite another Figure than they do at preſent, which will be wholly owing to their Participation in our Trade; and yet, in all Probability, this (in reſpect to us) has been increaſed by it too.

We muſt, before we quit this Subject, ſay a Word or two of the Plantations, which are another vaſt Acquiſition the *Scots* have made by the Union: And I believe it may be truly ſaid, that the Trade between

North

North Britain, and the Plantations, is greatly more conſiderable than the whole Commerce of *Scotland*, while it remained a ſeparate Kingdom. But this is not all; there are vaſt Numbers of *North Britons* ſettled in all our Plantations; it is believed, that they make near one Half of the People of *Virginia*; and I have been told, that two-fifths of the white People in *Jamaica* are of that Nation, where it is certain that many of them have made large Fortunes, and then returned to ſettle in ſome Part of this Iſland. Upon the Whole therefore, thoſe *North Britons*, who talk of being ſet down where they were taken up, of being reſtored to their antient Privileges, to their Parliaments, and to the Rights of a ſeparate Government, either are not in earneſt, or do not underſtand the Intereſt of their own Country;

Country; which thoſe undoubtedly leaſt do, that have ſpent moſt of their Time here; for they fancy, that a Parliament of *Scotland* would reſemble a Parliament of *Great Britain*, which it never did nor can; and was no better than a Theatre of Faction, where much was done to ſerve private Intereſt, and little or nothing for the Benefit of the Public; which was the true Reaſon of the Poverty of the People, and of their being in no Condition to ſupport that Independency, of which ſome of them are, or affect to be, ſo fond.

It is a ſaying of Mr. *Houghton*, the Author of the Papers upon Huſbandry and Trade, That the moſt beneficial Treaty, that could poſſibly be made for us, would be a triple League between *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and this Obſervation

he repeats more than once. It is indeed a very juſt, and a very weighty Remark; to which if our Stateſmen would conſtantly attend, they might ſave themſelves the Trouble of all other Leagues and Treaties. I do not mean by this, that we might deſpiſe and maltreat other Nations; but that we might be in a Condition to look upon them without Terror; and never apprehend either our Commerce, or our Liberty, capable of being affected by their Frowns, or Favour. Theſe three Nations, in point of Situation, Produce, and convenient Ports, have undoubtedly all the Materials requiſite to eſtabliſh an independent, tho' not an univerſal Monarchy. It is our Want of Harmony, our Want of Attention, and above all, our Want of public Spirit, that hinder us from being the firſt People in the

the Univerſe. Our Want of Harmony is apparent, in keeping up the Diſtinction of three Nations, when it is viſibly our Intereſt to deſtroy thoſe Diſtinctions, that all may unite in promoting the common Good. Our Want of Attention is as evident by ſuffering the *French* to have an Intereſt in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, which flows from nothing elſe; and our Want of public Spirit is conſpicuous in the Pains taken to keep alive Party-Quarrels, and national Prejudices, to ſerve the Purpoſes of wicked Men, who make Tools of their Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects, to gratify their own Pride and Ambition at the Expence of the Community. Theſe are Errors inexcuſable, in all the Subjects of the Crown of *Great Britain*; but moſt of all ſo in the *Engliſh*, who are ſure to be the greateſt Gainers by promoting

promoting Unanimity; and who are fooliſhly jealous of the Trade of *Scotland*, tho' their own is promoted by them, and the Wealth acquired by the Inhabitants of both Countries is ſure to centre with them.

The Union of *Scotland* cannot be denied to be an *Engliſh* Meaſure: It was the Project of the wiſe Treaſurer, *Godolphin*; and it was the wiſeſt Project he ever thought of; for it ſecured the Dependency of *Scotland* upon *England*, which was in the utmoſt Danger of being loſt; the *Scots* having it in their Power to have named their own Succeſſor; and conſequently, the *Hanover* Succeſſion is eſtabliſhed by, and depends upon, the Act of Union, with reſpect to that Kingdom. The Advantages granted to the Inhabitants of *North Britain*, in virtue of the Union, are as incon-

teſtable, as that it was an *Engliſh* Meaſure: And as it was concerted, and carried into Execution, by a very wiſe, and upright Miniſtry, we may reſt ſatisfied, that they did not grant thoſe People ſuch and ſo great Benefits, without a Foreſight of reciprocal Advantages. The Uſe I would make of this is, to ſhew that it is equally unjuſt and unreaſonable for the Inhabitants of *South Britain* to repine at, or clamour againſt, the Union; ſince it was their own Act and Deed; their own ſeeking, and their own procuring: If therefore it be not advantageous to them, it is their own Fault, and they have nobody to thank but themſelves; if, on the other hand, it be advantagious, as moſt certainly it is, then they repine and clamour without a Cauſe; or at leaſt without any

Cauſe

Cauſe that a great and wiſe Nation would avow ; *viz.* Becauſe, while they are the better for it, others are the better for it alſo : Beſides, the Contract is irrevocable ; by which I mean, it is impoſſible to put the Nations in the ſame State in which they were ; it would create endleſs and irremediable Diſorders : And, at the ſame time, there is not the leaſt Neceſſity for it ; ſince, if, among many good Conſequences, ſome that are not ſo, have attended the Union, which were not foreſeen at the Time of makeing it, the Parliament of *Great Britain* at any time, may rectify theſe ; which would be both a ſhorter and a better Method than repining at, or complaining of them. Theſe are plain and ſelf-evident Truths, which it is impoſſible for any Man of common Senſe to doubt of or deny ; and therefore

we may judge what Sort of Men they are who either clamour or repine.

But it may be ſaid, that if the Advantages reſulting to *South Britain*, from the Union, are ſo many, and ſo great, it is very eaſy to mention them: And ſo indeed it is. In the firſt Place, we have gained a great Country, and a great Number of Subjects. This we had often attempted by Force of Arms, and never could accompliſh; but, if we had, a Conqueſt would not have been ſo advantagious to us, for many Reaſons; for then we might juſtly have feared all Improvements in *Scotland*, as tending to put it in the Power of the Inhabitants to revolt; whereas, in the preſent Caſe, it is againſt their Intereſt; neither have we ſeen any attempt it, but ſuch as have not hitherto reaped the Advantages of the Union in point

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of Government or Commerce; and who were as troubleſome, when a ſeparate Monarchy, to their own Princes, as ever they have been to the united Kingdom. If an Acceſſion of Subjects be no Advantage, then all the great Writers, on the Art of Government, are miſtaken; and all our Laws for naturalizing Foreigners are weak and fooliſh. We likewiſe ſecured our Frontier, on that Side; which coſt us both Trouble and Expence to defend; and we took from our Capital Enemies the *French*, the moſt uſeful Allies to them, becauſe the moſt dangerous to us. If we deſire ſtill farther Satisfaction upon this Head, we may have recourſe to the Treaties made between *France* and *Scotland*, on the Marriage of *Francis* the Second with Queen *Mary*; the Reaſons aſſigned by *Henry* the Seventh

for marrying his Daughter to King *James*; and the Offers made by *Henry* the Eighth, when he propoſed the Marriage of his Son *Edward* with the Heireſs of that Kingdom. But the Thing ſpeaks itſelf: The Figure that *Great Britain* makes in *Europe* ſufficiently ſhews it; and if the Spirit of the Union prevailed as throughly as the Letter has done, we ſhould have ſtill better Arguments to offer upon this Subject; but theſe we muſt leave to our Poſterity, who no doubt will, in this reſpect, have good Cauſe to wonder at their Forefathers Blindneſs; for, whenever our fooliſh Diſputes are worn out, there is no Doubt, the *Britiſh Nation* will be far more formidable than ſhe is at preſent.

The beſt Method, however, that can be thought of, for ſettling the Minds of People in this Age, upon

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the Subject before us, is to conſider the ſeveral Topics of Complaint; and how far they are, or are not, well founded. In the firſt Place we are told, that *North Britain* is a poor Country: This, however, we knew before the Union; and therefore we had no Reaſon to complain of that now: And, beſides, it is a very high Reproach upon us, that it is poor; for no Country can be ſo, that produces any thing, under a good Goernment. Some amongſt us, call it wild, bleak, barren, without conſidering how many great Nations lie to the *North* of *Scotland*, and conſequently in Countries more bleak and barren than it. But the Truth is, we are very little acquainted with the Country, tho' we have been Maſters of it ſo long; we neither know, nor care to know, what the Condition

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of it is, or how it may be improved; and the Effects of this Careleſſneſs in ourſelves we throw upon the Country. We carry on a great Trade to *Copenhagen*, *Stockholm*, *Peterſburgh*, and to *Archangel*; We had formerly all, and we have ſtill ſome, Commerce with *Iceland*: We ſometimes fit out Ships for the Whale-Fiſhery: And we have Factories, tho' no Colonies, in *Hudſon's* Bay: Why then ſhould we imagine ſo deſpicable, a Place which lies in a far milder Climate, and may therefore be ſuppoſed as well worth viſiting? At leaſt, it might be made ſo; and we, who value ourſelves ſo much upon making even the worſt Countries, turn to Account, when in our Hands, ſhould be aſhamed to confeſs, that *North Britain* is ſtill, at leaſt a great Part of it, in as bad a Condition as before the Union;

which

which we have never improved, or indeed ſo much as attempted it; tho', with reſpect to Timber, or Naval Stores, we might perhaps fetch them from thence with full as little Trouble, and certainly at a leſs Expence, than from *Norway*, *Sweden*, or *Ruſſia*. The Poverty of *Scotland* therefore is a Topic beneath a ſenſible or a well-bred Man to inſiſt upon; for, if that be ſufficient to run down a Country, it may be very poſſible to ſhew him as bad Land, within forty Miles of *London*, as any he can ſhew in *Scotland*; and yet, the Inhabitants are not thought at all the worſe for it.

What ſerves to render theſe Reproaches the more barbarous and unjuſt, and, at the ſame time, more abſurd and ridiculous, is the Certainty we have, that the Poverty of *Scotland*

really ariſes from no other Cauſe than the not taking due Care of it. The Linen Manufacture is now, in ſome meaſure, encouraged; and this Encouragement ſhews us, what might be done, if public Spirit prevailed in this Iſland. If we had undertaken to promote this Manufacture, immediately after the Union, forty Years would have made a wide Difference in the State of it; and we ſhould, by this time, have been able to have furniſhed our Plantations entirely from thence; which would have been much more beneficial to us than purchaſing the ſame Goods in *Germany* and *Holland*. The Mines in *Scotland* are very valuable, and there are of all Kinds; which, with the Aſſiſtance of the Public in making proper Roads, and rendering Creeks and Ports more commodious, would produce

duce vaſt Advantages to *Great Britain*. We may add to theſe, the moſt valuable Fiſhery in the World, if we may give Credit to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and other unprejudiced Writers. The Inhabitants of *North Britain*, about the Year 1720, formed a very laudable Deſign for improving this Fiſhery, in which Perſons of all Ranks and Conditions were concerned; but, upon Application for a Charter, it ſeems one of our *'Change-Alley* Bubbles had been beforehand with them; a legal Authority was refuſed, and for want of it the Company immediately diſſolved; which was not only a preſent Loſs to the Perſons concerned, but a national Diſcouragement for the future, ſo much the more to be regretted, becauſe if that Deſign had taken place, and the Company, as it was propoſed, had erected Magazines in the Weſtern and

Northern Iſlands, and had a ſmall Squadron of armed Veſſels to cover and protect their Trade, the late Rebellion could never have happened; and in all Probability the Inhabitants of the Weſtern Highlands by this time had been ſo well reconciled to our Maxims and Government, that we ſhould have ſtood in no need of regular Troops to keep them in Obedience; and, after all, perhaps, this will be found the ſureſt Method at laſt of reducing them, not to Slavery, but to Reaſon; not to a temporary Submiſſion, but to a perpetual Subjection, by putting them into a better Condition than they were, and not leaving them in the worſt of all Conditions, diſarmed and diſaffected. The former is unworthy of, the latter incompatible with, a State of Freedom.

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The Complaints that are made of their over-running our Armies, Fleets, Plantations, and learned Profeſſions, are in one Senſe well-founded; for they ſhew, that the Union has in a great meaſure had its Effect; that is to ſay, it has mingled and incorporated the People; it has brought Multitudes into a Submiſſion to, and Dependence upon, our Government; which is a thing of very great Conſequence, and a very high Benefit, to this Nation. It is not pretended, that the Natives of *North Britain* behave ill in our Armies, or in our Fleets; and, if it was pretended, their general Reputation abroad would contradict that ſufficiently: Beſides, in the preſent Scrutiny into Officers Conduct, none of them have been blamed, which I ſuppoſe would ſcarce happen if they were blame worthy. Thoſe that croud over

to our Plantations do us more Service ſurely than if they were tranſported thither; and, conſidering how great a Part of our Trade depends at preſent upon the Plantations, and how much that Trade depends upon their being well peopled, he muſt have a very ſtrange Head, who ſuſpects the *Scots* of doing us Injury this way. In Law and Phyſic, ſome, and thoſe no great Number, live here decently, and with Reputation; but as it is impoſſible for them to live here without ſpending what they get by us, I cannot diſcern why we ſhould either envy or abuſe them. The Children of *Germans*, *French*, *Dutch*, *Swiſs*, and other foreign Parents, do the ſame thing, and we look upon it as an Advantage; and therefore nothing but Spleen and Ill-humour can engage us to conſider the Succeſs of our *North Britiſh* Country-

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men in another Light. If they were of ſo ſelfiſh a Diſpoſition as not to quit their own Country upon any Terms, we might ſuſpect them of bad Deſigns, and of an Inclination to turn the Advantages they would even then have from the Union, upon thoſe that granted them, which in Proceſs of Time they might have in their Power; or if they were ſo invincibly diſaffected as to refuſe to ſerve us by Land or Sea, and at the ſame time went over to the *French* or *Spaniards*, we ſhould then have juſt Cauſe of Umbrage; but to treat thoſe who have behaved well to us, as bad Subjects, at the ſame time that we treat ſuch as are Rebels, as Rebels deſerve to be treated, muſt give that whole Nation a very bad Proſpect, and afford us no very good one.

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We muſt indeed allow, and the wiſer Part of the People of *North Britain* will alſo allow it, that, conſidering the Situation we were in, this time Twelvemonth, there is no great Wonder to be made, that the common People expreſs a good deal of Reſentment againſt the *Scots* without Diſtinction. But when People who pretend to reaſon, and to write, adopt ſuch Notions, it appears very ſtrange: The exciting People to take from them the Privileges granted to them by the Union, is writing againſt Law, as well as againſt the Honour of the Nation, and againſt *ſomething elſe* that I ſhall not name, becauſe there is a certain Act of Parliament that makes that *kind* of *writing* High Treaſon; and at the ſame time it is exciting the People of *North Britain* in general to Rebellion, by placing it in the Light of

Self-defence. Yet, after all, what Colour is there for all this? The Pretender's Manifeſtoes ſeem to be wrote in the Style of Papers that were not long ago faſhionable in *South Britain*: ought we therefore to conclude, that thoſe we ſtyled lately *Patriots* were really *Jacobites?* Or, if we proceed from Words to Facts, will the Account ſtand any better? Was the Surrender of *Edinburgh* a Grain worſe than that of *Carliſle?* or will any one ſay, that the Behaviour of *Glaſgow* was not better than that at *Mancheſter?* that the Clergy of *North Britain* of the Church Eſtabliſhed were not equally zealous with thoſe of *South Britain* (and more they could not well be)? or that the *Argyleſhire* Highlanders did not do as much Service as the *Yorkſhire Hunters?* What Colour then for national Reflections? What Room

for ſtripping the People of *North Britain* of the Benefits of the Law, and of their Birthrights? what Juſtice in threatening them with Baniſhment or Starving?

The Inhabitants of that Part of the Iſland have ſmarted ſeverely by this Calamity; and it has ſo happened, that the greateſt Weight of Misfortune has fallen upon that very Part of their Country which was moſt diſaffected, becauſe leaſt acquainted with our Laws and Government. Thoſe People will not be in a Condition to ſtir for a long time; the reſt of the *North Britons* will, from the Principles of Self-preſervation, as well as from Intereſt and Duty, be ready to prevent any future Inſurrections, that they may not have the Seat of War in their Neighbourhood. We have therefore all the Opportunities we can

wiſh, of trying what Effects good Laws and good Uſage will produce: We may, by Encouragement, induce the People to ſtay at home, and improve their own Country, inſtead of ſcattering themſelves all the World over: We may render their Linen-Manufacture a thing of prodigious Conſequence to them and to us: We may open Mines in all Parts of their Country, and by that means gain Acceſs to and Intelligence from them: We may eſtabliſh a Fiſhery, and by that means a naval Force upon its Coaſts: So that at the ſame time we render the Country better, and the Inhabitants richer, we ſhall be ourſelves more ſecure. To all this we may add, that, with a little Civility, and by uſing ſtrict Juſtice towards ſuch of the Nation as ſettle here, we ſhall, with the Help of their Reſort to

Parliament, and neceſſary Calls into this Country, derive to ourſelves whatever Wealth theſe People by their Induſtry can purchaſe. By purſuing theſe Meaſures, every Part of the Iſland may be rendered flouriſhing, and the People in general happy; whereas Jealouſies, Heart-burnings, and Uneaſineſſes, cannot fail of producing contrary Effects, ſuch as abateing Induſtry, encouraging Faction, propagating Civil Diſſention, and ſcattering the Seeds of future Civil Wars. The Choice of theſe is before us, and ſurely it requires no great Meaſure of Underſtanding, to determine what Choice we ſhall make.

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